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THE MODERN CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN BOHEMIA.

Historical survey.—In order to understand the present situation of agricultural labor in Bohemia, some slight review of the history of the country is necessary. In the first place, it is to be remembered that the population is not homogeneous. On the one hand, we have the German element, dominant in the politics of the empire, leader in the financial and industrial world. On the other hand, the Czech, of different racial stock, a majority as to numbers, ardent patriots as a class, regarding the German party as a usurper, but seemingly unable to oust it from its position either of political or of industrial supremacy. The latter element furnishes the bulk of the agricultural population. Although both races are represented in varying proportions in all the large cities of the kingdom and both are to be found in greater or less numbers throughout most of the districts, yet from early times there seems to have been a somewhat sharp geographical line of division between them. This line follows pretty closely certain physical aspects of the country.

The kingdom of Bohemia as a whole is basin-shaped. The hilly and mountainous districts in the north and west contain extensive coal beds and numerous iron deposits, offering facilities for manufacture similar to those of Lancashire, England. Even before the rise of the factory system, these districts, with the adjacent lower lands, were the chief seats of the woollen and linen weaving and spinning industries, and, later, of the cotton manufacture.

The quartz, feldspar, and earths suitable for manufacturing glass and porcelain, found in the south and west and to a less extent in the east, gave rise to the celebrated Bohemian glass industry of the Bohemian forest and the districts on the borders of Moravia. Thus in the early years of the present century,

there was, as today, a belt of extractive and manufacturing industries extending around three sides of the kingdom.¹

These industries were and are largely in the hands of the German-Bohemians. The close proximity of German Saxony on the west and north and of Bavaria on the southwest, when taken in connection with the strong racial feeling that has made fusion between German and Slav impossible, doubtless has had its effect in holding the mass of Germans to a district where intercourse with what they have looked upon as the mother-country would be possible.²

At the beginning of the century, the Germans were more advanced in the technique of industry than the Czechs, and better adapted by inheritance and training to the manufacturing industries.³ They would, therefore, naturally prefer to remain in parts where the physical resources were favorable to manufactures and where easy river communications opened up trade with German markets, and through them with countries more remote. Although today large numbers of the operatives of the industrial centers are Czechs, initiative and control are still in the hands of the Germans.

The great fertile basin in the center of the kingdom has been the home chiefly of the Czechs. As a race, the Czechs have been largely agriculturists. While many of the large estates have been and are the property of nobles of German origin, the great mass of the peasant farmers and agricultural laborers are Slavs.

The feudal relations which existed between the owners of the large estates and the peasants continued down to the revolution of 1848. The legal reforms effected by Maria Theresa and her son, which had brought so much promise to the peasants, if not abrogated, had become dead letters during the

¹ *Tafeln zur Statistik der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*, 1841, Einleitung.

² According to Palacky, Pelzel, and other Bohemian historians, this mountainous belt approximates closely to the district into which the people of Teutonic race had been pushed back during the first invasions of the Czechs and to which they have been confined ever since.

³ Cf. ROSCHER, *System der Volkswirtschaft*, vol. i. p. 612.

APPENDIX

TABLES RELATING TO THE FOREIGN TRADE

I. IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND CONSUMPTION OF

(in thousands)

	Wines						Spirits					
	Gallons			Value			Gallons			Value		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption
1821.....	3,215	327	2,888	1,873	241	1,632	3,658	255	3,403	1,805	165	1,640
1822.....	3,068	336	2,732	1,865	197	1,668	5,089	323	4,766	2,450	177	2,273
1823.....	2,675	684	1,991	1,292	380	912	3,946	432	3,514	1,791	237	1,554
1824.....	2,101	791	1,310	1,051	328	723	4,578	450	4,128	4,274	236	4,038
1825.....	3,161	797	2,364	1,826	449	1,377	5,091	528	4,563	2,135	306	1,821
	14,220	2,935	11,285	7,907	1,595	6,312	22,362	1,988	20,374	12,455	1,121	11,334
1826.....	3,436	610	2,826	1,781	366	1,415	3,718	510	3,208	1,588	297	1,291
1827.....	3,376	591	2,785	1,621	342	1,279	3,537	354	3,183	1,651	224	1,427
1828.....	2,915	507	2,408	1,508	328	1,180	5,103	360	4,743	2,332	255	2,077
1829.....	3,070	356	2,714	1,570	186	1,384	2,424	735	1,689	1,448	490	958
1830.....	3,281	388	2,893	1,535	204	1,331	1,692	706	986	659	406	253
	16,078	2,452	13,626	8,015	1,426	6,589	16,474	2,665	13,809	7,678	1,672	6,006
Decade	30,298	5,387	24,911	15,922	3,021	12,901	38,836	4,653	34,183	20,133	2,793	17,340

	Coffee						Sugar ¹					
	Pounds			Value			Pounds			Value		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption
1821.....	21,274	9,388	11,886	4,490	2,087	2,403	59,516	20,062	39,454	3,554	1,549	2,005
1822.....	25,782	7,267	18,515	5,553	1,654	3,899	88,311	14,447	73,864	5,035	1,059	3,970
1823.....	37,338	20,901	16,437	7,098	4,263	2,835	60,791	21,459	39,332	3,259	1,479	1,780
1824.....	39,244	19,427	19,817	5,437	2,923	2,514	94,452	14,128	80,324	5,412	999	4,413
1825.....	45,194	24,513	20,681	5,251	3,255	1,996	71,712	21,837	49,875	4,233	1,615	2,618
	168,832	81,496	87,336	27,829	14,182	13,647	374,782	91,933	282,849	21,493	6,701	14,792
1826.....	37,319	11,584	25,735	4,160	1,449	2,711	84,905	4,137	80,768	5,312	1,742	3,570
1827.....	50,052	21,698	28,354	4,464	2,325	2,139	76,702	15,344	61,358	4,577	1,191	3,386
1828.....	55,195	16,038	39,157	5,792	1,497	4,295	56,936	10,691	46,245	3,547	828	2,716
1829.....	51,134	18,084	33,050	4,589	1,537	3,052	63,300	12,343	50,957	3,623	815	2,808
1830.....	51,488	13,125	38,363	4,227	1,047	3,180	86,490	9,726	76,764	4,631	684	3,947
	245,188	80,529	164,659	23,232	7,855	15,377	368,333	52,241	316,092	21,690	5,260	16,430
Decade	414,020	162,025	251,995	51,061	22,037	29,024	743,115	144,174	598,941	43,183	11,961	31,222

¹ If the statistics on sugar are corrected by including exports of refined sugar the quantity consumed by quinquenniums will be 595.8 and 980 million pounds; the values 30.8 and 52 million dollars.

APPENDIX

E FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN FOODS, 1821-1830

(in thousands)

Value			Molasses						Tea					
			Gallons			Value			Pounds			Value		
			Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption
165	1,640		9,087	37	9,050	1,719	11	1,708	4,976	390	4,586	1,323	242	1,081
177	2,273		12,000	13	11,987	2,398	4	2,394	6,639	1,334	5,305	1,861	700	1,161
237	1,554		13,019	3	13,016	2,634	1	2,633	8,210	1,735	6,475	2,361	814	1,547
236	4,038		13,118	19	13,099	2,414	5	2,409	8,934	1,149	7,785	2,786	562	2,224
306	1,829		12,535	16	12,519	2,547	5	2,542	10,210	3,036	7,174	3,729	1,482	2,247
1,121	11,334		59,759	88	59,671	11,712	26	11,686	38,969	7,644	31,325	12,060	3,800	8,260
297	1,291		13,843	51	13,792	2,839	16	2,823	10,099	2,805	7,294	3,752	1,309	2,443
224	1,427		13,377	20	13,357	2,819	6	2,813	5,876	1,626	4,250	1,715	772	943
255	2,077		13,394	30	13,364	2,788	9	2,779	7,707	1,418	6,289	2,451	680	1,771
490	958		10,150	37	10,113	1,484	8	1,476	6,637	1,034	5,603	2,060	529	1,531
406	253		8,374	27	8,347	996	7	989	8,609	1,746	6,863	2,425	893	1,532
1,672	6,006		59,138	165	58,973	10,926	46	10,880	38,928	8,629	30,299	12,403	4,183	8,220
2,793	17,340		118,897	253	118,644	22,638	72	22,566	77,897	16,273	61,624	24,463	7,983	16,480
Value			Fruits						Spices					
			Pounds			Value			Pounds			Value		
			Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption
1,549	2,005		2,879	176	2,703	181	15	166	2,636	1,000	1,636	310	236	74
1,059	3,976		6,000	245	5,755	365	25	140	4,486	3,039	1,447	505	455	50
1,479	1,780		6,079	1,184	4,895	401	74	327	4,581	5,397	— 816	581	825	— 244
999	4,413		5,687	460	5,227	308	37	271	5,441	3,130	2,311	655	600	55
1,615	2,618		6,027	540	5,487	358	56	302	4,053	3,450	603	626	705	— 79
6,701	14,792		26,672	2,605	24,067	1,613	207	1,406	21,197	16,016	5,181	2,677	2,821	— 144
1,742	3,570		5,220	270	4,950	375	30	345	6,614	3,985	2,629	595	579	16
1,191	3,386		7,736	713	7,023	434	55	379	2,892	2,040	852	323	363	— 40
828	2,719		6,063	490	5,573	344	39	305	5,559	987	4,572	433	181	252
815	2,808		6,248	420	5,828	356	36	320	4,292	1,524	2,768	402	245	217
684	3,947		9,837	753	9,084	520	93	427	4,735	3,071	1,664	458	287	171
5,260	16,430		35,104	2,646	32,458	2,029	253	1,776	24,092	11,607	12,485	2,271	1,655	616
11,961	31,222		61,776	5,251	56,525	3,642	460	3,182	45,289	17,623	27,666	4,948	4,476	472

quenniums will be 282.4, and 313.4 million pounds. The values 14.7, and 16.1 million dollars. The quantities by decades will be

II. IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN MANUFACTURES, 1821-1830.

(in thousands of dollars)

	1821-25			1826-30			Decade 1821-30		
	Imports	Re-exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic Consumption
Woolen piece goods.....	31,459	1,610	29,849	23,738	921	22,817	55,197	2,531	52,666
Worsted stuff goods.....	9,976	444	9,532	6,971	158	6,813	16,947	602	16,345
Other woolens.....	6,259	280	5,979	7,539	228	7,311	13,798	508	13,290
Colored cottons.....	28,608	4,809	23,799	25,269	5,146	20,123	53,877	9,955	43,922
White cottons.....	13,781	2,495	11,286	12,027	2,361	9,666	25,808	4,856	20,952
Other cottons.....	5,361	3,513	1,848	7,590	3,277	4,313	12,951	6,790	6,161
Linens.....	18,262	5,503	12,759	14,736	4,690	10,046	32,998	10,193	22,805
Silks.....	36,280	8,017	28,263	36,066	7,017	29,049	72,346	15,034	57,312
Laces.....	1,001	136	865	4,017	448	3,569	5,018	584	4,434
Cotton bagging.....	655	3	652	1,394	20	1,374	2,049	23	2,026
Duck and other hemp.....	8,356	2,798	5,558	8,696	2,899	5,797	17,052	5,697	11,355
Glass and other wares.....	7,019	558	6,461	9,430	755	8,675	16,449	1,313	15,136
Glass.....	623	35	588	899	139	760	1,522	174	1,348
Bar iron — rolled.....	8,203	355	7,848	1,357	95	1,262	18,230	609	17,621
Bar iron other than rolled.....				8,670	159	8,511			
Steel.....	1,073	76	997	1,707	158	1,549	2,780	234	2,546
Other iron, specific.....	1,808	191	1,617	2,271	358	1,913	4,079	549	3,530
Other iron, ad valorem.....	12,785	1,033	11,752	16,389	981	15,408	29,174	2,014	27,160
All other manufactures.....	8,402	846	7,556	14,585	2,511	12,074	22,987	3,357	19,630
Total.....	199,911	32,702	167,209	203,351	32,321	171,030	403,252	65,023	338,239
Woolens.....	47,694	2,334	45,360	38,248	1,307	36,941	85,942	3,641	82,301
Cottons.....	47,750	10,817	36,933	44,886	10,784	34,102	92,636	21,601	71,035
Iron and steel.....	23,869	1,655	22,214	30,394	1,751	28,643	54,263	3,406	50,857

III. IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTS, 1821-1830.

BAR IRON—Rolled and Hammered.						
	Quantity.			Value.		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption
1821.....	386,778	15,925	370,853	1,213,041	61,152	1,151,889
1822.....	634,139	12,039	622,100	1,864,868	51,376	1,813,492
1823.....	698,813	23,060	675,753	1,891,635	73,994	1,817,641
1824.....	541,685	19,686	521,999	1,446,583	69,165	1,377,418
1825.....	578,008	24,379	553,629	1,786,643	99,478	1,687,165
	2,839,423	95,089	2,744,334	8,202,770	355,165	7,847,605
BAR IRON—Rolled.						
1826.....	88,741	2,066	86,675	223,259	11,073	212,186
1827.....	162,052	4,052	158,000	347,792	14,698	333,094
1828.....	205,897	7,266	198,631	441,000	42,531	398,469
1829.....	66,408	2,753	63,655	119,326	8,945	110,381
1830.....	138,981	14,562	124,419	226,336	18,109	208,227
	662,079	30,699	631,380	1,357,713	95,356	1,262,357
STEEL.						
	Quantity.			Value.		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption
1821.....	11,570	1,797	9,773	131,291	16,088	115,203
1822.....	16,098	699	15,399	189,613	5,966	183,647
1823.....	20,551	1,038	19,513	224,595	5,414	219,181
1824.....	21,954	1,558	20,396	236,405	14,818	221,587
1825.....	26,675	4,393	22,282	291,215	33,556	257,659
	96,848	9,485	87,363	1,073,119	75,842	997,277
1826.....	36,525	8,378	28,147	384,235	69,430	314,805
1827.....	25,012	5,845	19,167	310,197	42,662	267,535
1828.....	35,660	2,420	33,240	430,425	18,472	411,953
1829.....	24,000	1,014	22,986	289,831	6,656	283,175
1830.....	24,472	3,537	20,935	291,957	20,585	271,372
	145,669	21,194	124,475	1,706,645	157,805	1,548,840
Decade	242,517	30,679	211,838	2,779,764	233,647	2,546,117

BAR IRON—Hammered.						
	Quantity.			Value.		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption
	467,515	14,151	453,364	1,590,350	66,654	1,523,696
	440,200	5,838	434,362	1,323,749	25,337	1,298,412
	667,849	4,743	663,106	2,141,178	21,009	2,120,169
	589,640	5,583	584,057	1,884,049	26,194	1,857,855
	613,866	4,525	609,341	1,730,375	19,820	1,710,555
	2,779,070	34,840	2,744,230	8,669,701	159,014	8,510,687
OTHER MANUFACTURES OF IRON.						
	Value (specific).			Value (ad valorem).		
	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption	Imports	Exports	Domestic consumption
	238,390	15,082	223,308	1,630,129	164,306	1,465,823
	387,818	30,702	357,116	2,767,757	189,567	2,578,190
	398,279	14,143	384,136	2,568,842	136,824	2,432,018
	359,855	24,674	335,181	2,505,291	274,421	2,230,870
	424,149	106,540	317,609	3,312,488	267,692	3,044,796
	1,808,491	191,141	1,617,350	12,784,507	1,032,810	11,751,697
	416,019	67,257	348,762	2,831,243	267,812	2,563,431
	489,713	88,235	401,478	3,525,433	232,085	3,293,348
	713,958	49,883	664,075	3,559,982	200,872	3,359,110
	342,304	112,075	230,229	3,100,630	114,320	2,986,310
	309,346	40,409	268,937	3,372,146	166,820	3,205,326
	2,271,340	357,859	1,913,481	16,389,434	981,909	15,407,525
	4,079,831	549,000	3,530,831	29,173,941	1,984,719	27,159,222

half century following the accession to the throne of Leopold II (1790) In this half century the peasants probably reached the lowest depths of the poverty and misery which they had suffered since the beginning of the feudal period in Bohemia.

Violand¹ and other contemporary writers declare that, in arrogance, immorality, and excessive exactions, the lords of the manor were in no way behind their brethren of the France of the preceding half century. There were other burdens to be borne, but that which economically pressed most heavily upon the peasant was the personal service, or "robot,"² which he was required to render to the lord of the manor. By the decree of Joseph II, November 1, 1771, the amount of service to be demanded had been limited by law. According to this the "Ganz-und Halb-Lehners"³ must give 104 days' service during the year, the former with four horses and the latter with two. From the "Viertel-Lehner" the service was limited to 104 days without horses; from the cottager with more than one Joch⁴ of land, to 52 days; from the cottager without any or with not more than one Joch, to 26 days, and from the "Innman," to 12 days.⁵ One day's work with a team might be redeemed by payment of 20 to 24 kr., one day's hand-work by 6 to 15 kr. c.m. The study of documentary evidence shows that the laws were not strictly enforced, and that the amount of service demanded varied greatly in different localities and even on different estates in the same locality, and depended upon the temper of the lord of the manor.⁶

A picture of the abuses under which the peasants suffered in the latter half of the eighteenth century, drawn from material

¹ *Die sociale Geschichte der Revolution in Oesterreich*. Leipzig, 1850, p. 27.

² Robot = frondienst. The former is a Slavic word usually employed in Bohemia to express this personal service.

³ The "Ganz-Lehner" occupied an entire peasant holding; the "Halb-Lehner" held one half as much and the "Viertel-Lehner" one fourth as much land.

⁴ One Joch = .575464 hectares = 1.4218 acres.

⁵ VIOLAND, *Soziale Geschichte*, p. 31.

⁶ Cf. A. JÄGERS, *Dorfchronik*, Reichenberg, 1865, p. 27 *et seq.*

gathered from official reports of that period,¹ is said, by those still living whose memories go back to pre-revolutionary times, to represent as accurately conditions during the first half of the present century. In addition to the legal number of days service, the demands upon the time of the peasant was so great that often his own fields had to go untilled. Or if in any year sufficient food could not be raised, the seed reserved for planting was consumed, and none could be obtained in the spring. The crops were frequently destroyed by the game which the peasants were not allowed to drive from the fields, or by the hunt passing over them. What had once been common pasture was appropriated by the lords, and great difficulty in keeping cattle resulted. The peasants were not allowed to gather the green stuff that grew in the forests, for fear they might steal wood or frighten the game. Thus they were sometimes driven to use the thatches of their roofs to feed the cattle, and so keep them alive during the winter. Sometimes, unable to meet the demand for personal service, the peasant was compelled to sell his cattle or to exchange a good animal for a poor one. It was unsafe to own good horses, as they were apt to be appropriated by the master. The peasants on this account preferred oxen. In one district the peasant farmers complain that in winter they must work, in person, with their teams, three days each week, and in summer every day, besides supplying one or two extra hand laborers, according to the size of the holding. There seems to have been absolutely no limit to the service demanded, except the necessity or the greed of the master.

In times of war, grain, cattle, and horses were taken from the peasants without payment, and redress from the war-courts was impossible. Not only were the adult men and women forced to

¹ In 1770, with the ostensible purpose of obtaining reliable data as a basis for recruiting the army, Maria Theresa requested the commissioners of the various districts, together with the military officers, to examine into the condition of the population of the empire, giving particular attention to the relations of the peasants to the manorial lords. So much of this report as deals with economic conditions in Bohemia is printed by F. Mayer under the title "*Die volkswirtschaftlichen Zustände Böhmens um den Jahren 1770,*" in *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*. Prag, 1862, etc., vol. xiv. 1876, p. 125 *et seq.*

labor without reward, but they were obliged to send their children to hard work in their tenderest years. Little ones of seven years and less were compelled to carry on their backs the firewood for the manor house from parts of the forest inaccessible to wagons. The children were weakly and stunted in their growth through the severe labor to which they were subjected.

The grievances of the peasants played an important part throughout the entire Austrian Empire in the causes leading up to the revolution of 1848. This was particularly the case in Bohemia, where the demand for the complete abolition of all feudal claims was the unifying force of the revolutionary party. It was almost solely through this demand that any headway was made among the peasantry in attracting them to the national cause. What they wanted was the abolition of the "robot." When this end was gained they ceased as a class to take any interest in revolutionary matters. The patent of the Emperor Franz Joseph, published March 4, 1849, provided for the complete freeing of the land from all obligations to the feudal lords.

The noblemen who owned the large estates were themselves not entirely averse to the new conditions. Forced labor rendered grudgingly is not economical. Such labor could not well be adapted to modern rational agricultural methods. The opening up of the country through railways and steamboats was more and more bringing the agricultural products of Bohemia into competition with those of the outside world. It was necessary that the farmers of Bohemia should adopt more advanced methods or fall out of the competition altogether. After the revolution all land owners were obliged to depend upon labor employed under a system of free contract. There was, however, no abrupt transition to a pure money economy. Compulsory labor had always been supplemented by paid labor, but labor paid for chiefly in farm products and wood, or by the privilege of using additional land for pasture or small crops. Such members of the families of the peasant farmers as were not needed upon the home farm were glad to engage themselves as before for a fixed price. Landless families in constant employment were settled upon the

estates of their masters, and the modern system of "deputatisten" ¹ developed.

Until this time, agricultural methods in Bohemia had been much behind those of other countries in western Europe. Now the proprietors of the large estates began to study agricultural chemistry, the rotation of crops, horticulture and improved methods of stock breeding. The farm implements in use had been of a most primitive type. Now more modern plows were introduced; and such machines as those for sowing, reaping, and threshing began to replace hand labor in the more progressive districts. The peasant farmer was naturally slow in adopting new methods. In the first place he was by nature averse to what he regarded as experimental. He believed that his father's methods were good enough for him. His mind was sluggish in its action, and he did not readily imitate the methods which he saw adopted on the large estates.² Another obstacle was his almost total lack of capital. Even if better implements or improved processes of manuring and deep plowing commended themselves to him, he seldom had the means to introduce them.

Moreover the general spread of information regarding better agricultural methods was retarded by the aversion of the peasantry to the German language. All through the period of German domination, down to the Czechish renaissance in the first half of the present century, the German language, although that of the state, the school, and the upper classes, had never become that of the peasantry who clung tenaciously to the native tongue. Although the children were obliged to speak German in the schools until twelve years of age, in the Czechish districts they immediately dropped it when compulsion was removed.

There had been attempts toward better agricultural conditions even before the revolution. Some few agricultural papers printed in the Czechish language had been circulated, but, generally speaking, the articles were translations from the German, and

¹ Deputat = an allowance; the word "deputatisten," for which there seems to be no exact English equivalent, is used to designate a class of farm laborers whose service is paid for chiefly by a stipulated amount of farm produce.

² Cf. F. A. SCHMALFÜSS, *Die Deutschen in Böhmen*. Prag, 1851, p. 31.

related to a state of agriculture so far advanced that they were practically useless to the peasant farmer.¹

The decade from 1849 to 1859 was a time of readjustment and slow change; but during the sixties the advance in agricultural methods became perceptible.

The peasant, since his freedom from feudal obligations, had begun to feel some of the ambitions of independence. He saw possibilities for himself and his children. He began to desire a better education for the latter and a better standard of living for himself. These new needs must be met by the income from his little farm. At the same time, there was a steady rise in the rate of taxation. Both of these circumstances acted as a stimulus to the adoption of better methods of farming, and gradually so far as was practicable, the peasant began to follow the methods adopted on the large estates.

Peasant proprietorship.—The desire of the peasantry to own or control land has always been, in civilized countries and under favorable circumstances, a powerful incentive to industry and thrift. Since the days of Arthur Young it has been recognized as a motive which plays an important part in determining the standard of living of the lower agricultural classes. Where the desire is exhibited in its strongest form the resulting habit of saving, as is said to have been the case in France, may go so far as to trench upon the necessities of life, and may reach a point where the bodily health and efficiency of the laborer himself is impaired.

It is obvious that this desire for the ownership of land can have been developed in force only in countries whose laws and customs have made its gratification possible, at least within limits. It was not until twenty years after the revolution of 1848 that the gradual acquisition of land became possible for the agricultural laborer of Bohemia.

In all Austria, down to 1868, peasant properties could not be subdivided.² At his death the peasant tenant could bequeath

¹ F. RIEGER, *Cechy Země i Národ* (Bohemia, the country and the nation). Prag, 1863, p. 545.

² KARL GRÜNBERG, "Studien zum Oesterreichischen Agrarpolitik," etc.; *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*. 20. Jahrgung, p. 82.

his property to one of his children. Custom, rather than law, determined which son should inherit and the custom seems not to have been uniform in the different provinces.¹ Often it was the youngest son who inherited. In case the peasant holder died intestate the children inherited equally. The result was that either the property had to be sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs, or the son taking over the land had to burden it with a claim for the share of each of his brothers and sisters. This often proved more than he could carry.²

In both these ways properties came into the market. But the fact that the properties must be sold as wholes made it impossible for the agricultural laborer to improve his condition gradually, by buying one field or one small patch of ground at a time.

By the law of December 20, 1869, peasant-properties in Bohemia became divisible. Much doubt was felt at the time as to the desirability of the law and much difference of opinion exists today as to its effects. The chief objection is that it is believed to lead on the one hand, to the absorption of much land into the large estates and, on the other, to the splitting up of the land into very small parcels, each of itself incapable of supporting a family. This gives rise to a class of partially independent farm laborers, who are on that account more difficult to deal with, at least from the point of view of the large farmer. A further result of this movement in opposite directions is the danger of the extinction of the better class of independent peasant proprietors.

The law of 1869 did not affect the large estates (*Grossgüter*), which cannot be subdivided and whose ownership carries with it important political rights. The statistics of Bohemia do not give the exact number of these, but they are between three and four hundred. They pay a minimum annual tax of 500 gl. each.³

In the report of 1895 concerning agricultural wages (p. 5) it is stated that about 34.5 per cent. of all the land in Bohemia

¹ MAYER, Report of 1771.

² KARL GRÜNBERG, *ibid.*, p. 82.

³ Personal statement of the owner of one of the large estates.

belongs to these large estates. In the "Statistical Tables in regard to the Changes in the Subdivision of Landed Property in the Kingdom of Bohemia,"¹ it gives for the year 1889-90 27.45 per cent. of the total area as "Gebundener Besitz" and "Besitz in todter Hand," while 72.55 per cent. is freehold property. Of this freehold property there is 14.19 per cent. included in the highest division, or properties over 200 Joch in extent. It seems safe to assume, however, that at least 30 per cent. of the land in Bohemia today is held in parcels which cannot be subdivided.

If the figures for 1889-90 are compared with those for the period 1861-1872 it will be seen that the indivisible portion of the land has increased only a little over 1 per cent. in eighteen years. This does not seem to indicate a very general tendency toward absorption of the peasants' land on the part of the large estates. Table I gives the summaries for the two periods investigated.²

We see from this that while the number of properties of over 200 Joch has doubled, the area of the individual properties has diminished by more than one half, while at the same time the percentage of such properties to the total area of the kingdom has increased only a little more than 3 per cent. The number of properties in the class between twenty-five and fifty Joch shows the greatest falling off in point of numbers, and the class of from one to five Joch the greatest increase both in number of properties and in the percentage gain in the total area. The tables undoubtedly show the double movement in the direction of larger and of smaller properties. Still, the properties ranging from ten to fifty Joch form 34.9 per cent. of all the land in Bohemia, or as much as is included in the large estates. If,

¹ *Statistische Tafeln über die Aenderungen in der Verteilung des Grundbesitzes im Königreiche Böhmen*, p. 191. Prag, 1893.

² As a result of the general anxiety in regard to the dying out of the independent peasant class, a resolution was carried in the Bohemian Landtag, January 18, 1888, by which the land committee (Landesausschuss) was authorized to obtain statistics of the condition and changes in peasant proprietorship in Bohemia. The object in view was to determine whether or not it was desirable to enact a law fixing the limit of the divisibility of land. The report of 1893, to which reference has been made, embodies the results of the work of this committee.

TABLE I.¹

NUMBER, AREA, ETC., OF FARM PROPERTIES IN BOHEMIA IN THE PERIODS 1861-1872 AND 1889-90.

	Over 200 Joch	100 to 200 Joch	50 to 100 Joch	25 to 50 Joch	10 to 25 Joch	5 to 10 Joch	1 to 5 Joch	Under 1 Joch	Total
NUMBER OF FARM PROPERTIES WITH AREA AS ABOVE.									
1861-1872.....	702	846	13,921	57,298	79,232	49,993	118,997	298,850	619,839
1889-90.....	1,407	1,159	11,210	46,982	76,094	64,708	218,111	323,797	744,068
TOTAL AREA OF PROPERTIES IN ABOVE CLASSES.									
1861-1872.....	1,560,590	106,605	872,182	2,011,455	1,340,989	364,833	298,870	67,765	6,623,294
1889-90.....	1,175,805	155,724	707,845	1,635,698	1,257,502	455,117	520,488	104,079	6,012,263
THE PROPORTION OF EACH CLASS WITH REFERENCE TO TOTAL AREA.									
1861-1872.....	17.29%	1.18%	9.66%	22.20%	14.86%	4.04%	3.31%	0.75%	
1889-90.....	14.19	1.88	8.54	19.74	15.17	5.49	6.28	1.26	
THE AVERAGE AREA OF THE INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES IN EACH CLASS.									
1861-1872.....	2,223	126	62+	35+	16+	7+	2+	363	
1889-90.....	835	134	63+	34+	16+	7+	2+	514	

¹ From *Statistische Tafeln über die Aenderungen in der Verteilung des Grundbesitzes im Königreiche Böhmen*, pp. 33, 59, 85, 111, 139, 191, 217. Prag, 1893.

however, we take the normal peasant holding at thirty Joch,¹ there seems to be a tendency toward division.

It is a difficult question to decide as to whether the economic disadvantages to the country coming from this subdivision, and the decline of a stable class of peasant proprietors are not more than counterbalanced by the greater independence, freedom of movement, and incentive to labor which is offered to the agricultural laborer, in the possibility of acquiring land and through it partial economic freedom.

This is only one phase of the agricultural problem which today is one of prime importance to Bohemia.

The decrease in the number of agricultural laborers.—From the point of view of the large estate owner, or of the peasant proprietor, the growing scarcity of agricultural labor with its increased money cost, without what is claimed to be proportionate increased efficiency, taken in connection with the fall in the price of agricultural produce, makes the solution of the agricultural problem a life and death matter. For the agricultural laborer himself, the question today is, shall he stay upon the land? or do other countries and other industries offer inducements so much greater as to counterbalance the increase of real wages which has undoubtedly come to him since the revolution of 1848?

A glance at Table II² will show that, with an increase of population in Bohemia between 1869 and 1890 of 10.4 per cent.,³ there has been no proportionate increase in that part of it engaged in agriculture. On the contrary, in the twenty-one years there has actually been an absolute decrease. In 1890 the numbers were 30,000 less than in 1869; in other words there was a decrease of a little more than 2 per cent. The loss

¹A "Bauergut" is commonly estimated at ninety Metzen or thirty Joch of land.

²The years 1869 and 1890 are chosen for the reason that the data given by the census of occupations for these two years are said to be comparable. The first census of occupation taken in 1857 was made on a different basis, and that of 1880 was again different in certain particulars from any of the others. See *Oesterreichische Statistik*, vol. xxxiii. p. 3.

³The population of Bohemia in 1869 was 5,106,069; in 1890, 5,843,250.

TABLE II.

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN BOHEMIA ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE (FORESTRY INCLUDED) IN THE YEARS 1869 AND 1890.

1869				1890				Per cent. of increase or decrease of totals
Inde- pendent	Offi- cials †	Laborers	Total	Inde- pendent	Offi- cials	Laborers	Total	
275,953	8,589	1,189,770	1,474,312	292,945	6,928	1,143,579	1,443,452	- 2 + % Percentage of decrease of laborers = 3 + Percentage of increase of independ- ent = 6 +

NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN TRADE (HANDEL UND VERKEHR)

62,935	7,489	60,335	130,759	79,496	24,261	98,974	202,731	+ 55 %
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NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN INDUSTRY.

130,590	7,052	718,916	856,558	187,595	12,327	872,431	1,072,353	+ 25 %
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Figures taken from tables in *Oesterreichische Statistik*, vol. xxxiii. p. 70.

has been chiefly in the ranks of the laborers. The number of independent agriculturalists has increased 6 per cent.

If we compare the changes that have taken place in Bohemia with the corresponding changes in the empire as a whole we find that while the former has lost, the latter has gained over 12 per cent. in the number of its agricultural laborers. The increase of population in the same time has been a trifle over 15 per cent. But if we compare Bohemia with Lower Austria, the province of which Vienna is the center, we find that the loss of the latter has been still greater, amounting to a little over 5 per cent. When we compare agriculture with trade and industry we see that what the former has lost or failed to gain has gone to the latter occupation, "trade" having gained 55 per cent. and "industry" 25 per cent. in the twenty-one years.

† Officials="Angestellt."

Ever since the revolution of 1848, and in fact antedating that time, there has been a triple movement of the agricultural population of Bohemia; (1) a movement from the country to Prague, Reichenberg, and other industrial centers of Bohemia itself; (2) a movement toward other Austrian provinces, particularly toward Lower Austria and Vienna; (3) an emigration "over seas," especially to America.¹ This latter movement seems to have been strongest in the last half of the eighties and the early nineties.

The reasons for this movement away from the country do not seem far to seek. The first causes, on the agricultural side, run back to pre-revolutionary times, and have been mentioned. They were to be found in the excessive feudal obligations which made it impossible for large families to be supported upon the land. The superfluous children were driven to seek a livelihood in other countries or in other parts of the empire. After the abolition of feudal obligations, custom rather than competition still regulated wages. The now free peasants received, for the work they had heretofore performed without pay, the same wages which the lords had been accustomed to pay for extra labor. In this respect agricultural labor was much slower to respond to outside influences than were other commodities. In spite of the rapid opening up of communication between different parts of the country, which brought the grain of the Bohemian farmer into the world market and caused its price to be fixed by factors outside the community, the same result did not make itself felt in the case of labor.

¹ Accurate statistics in regard to the emigration "over seas" are extremely difficult to obtain. The *Oesterreichisches statistisches Handbuch* for 1896 gives figures of the emigration from Austria exclusive of Hungary for the years 1877 to 1895 inclusive. These are said to be based on consular reports. For the nineteen years the total is 401,803. This seems to be a very low estimate. Dr. Raucheberg, in *Die Bevölkerung Oesterreichs*, estimates the emigration for the year 1880 at 38,663 for Austria exclusive of Bohemians or Poles, and 85,361 for Bohemians. For 1890 he fixes the numbers at 118,106 for the Bohemians and at 123,271 for the rest of Austria. (These estimates for Austria exclude Hungary.) These estimates he believes to be too low, but they are much higher than the figures given in the *Handbuch*, which for 1880 are 18,252, and for 1890, 38,125 for all Austria.

The term mobility can hardly be applied to such a movement as that from country to city—a movement that was entirely in one direction. That it was not mobile as between different agricultural sections—and that this remains true even today—is shown by the widely differing rates of wages in different districts.

On the other hand, the new independence of the peasants, the increase of literature at his command in his own language, with a consequently greater diffusion of information, the larger political power in the hands of the citizens of the towns, but most of all the greater economic opportunities seemingly offered by the industrial centers, were powerful factors in attracting the peasants away from the land.

The steady diminution in the number of agricultural laborers is recognized as a matter of vital importance in Bohemia. That the landowners as a class are alive to this is evinced in the fact that when the material was being gathered for the report of 1895 on agricultural wages in Austria, of the 1393 sheets of questions returned to the commission, 433, or nearly one third, came from Bohemia alone.

The form of labor contract.—The various forms of labor contract under which we find the farm laborer of Bohemia today are the result, in the first place, of the peculiar development of agricultural conditions due to the persistence of feudal relations down to the middle of the century. The division of the farm land into the large estates, with a more or less capitalistic organization and production on a large scale for the market, on the one hand, and the small peasant holdings on the other, has given rise to a variety of needs for which corresponding methods of supply have developed. Another factor has been, in later years, the great extension of special cultures, such as hops and grain for beer, beets for sugar, potatoes for distillation into brandy, etc.

In Bohemia we find almost all the forms of labor contract known to Austrian agriculture. According to Professor Inama Sternegg, the principal classes of labor are as follows:¹

¹ Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. Nach dem Stande des Jahres 1893. Bearbeitet vom Bureau der K. K. Statistischen Central-Commission. Wien, 1895.

1. *Farm servants* (Dienstboten).—These are usually employed by the year, live in the family of their employer and receive a money wage in addition to board and lodging.

2. *Laborers employed under contract*.—These are divided into (a) "deputatisten" and (b) day laborers.

a. The "deputatisten" are laborers, either men or women, usually engaged by the year, for the exclusive service of one employer. They do not live in the family of their master. They receive a money wage in addition to a house, the use of a piece of land and a stipulated quantity of wood and farm products.

b. *The day laborer bound by contract* is more difficult to characterize.¹ As a rule he is bound to give his services when required, to one employer, usually for a stipulated number of days in the year. He is often the owner of a small piece of land from which the greater part of his income is derived in the form of produce. He is glad, however, to add to this a small money income by contracting with the large proprietor to give a certain amount of labor during the busy season. He is paid by the day's work or by the job. (Zeitlohn or Accordlohn). The children of the peasant proprietors and of the "deputatisten" often belong to this class.

3. *The ordinary day laborer*, either male or female, who seeks employment wherever he can find it and is paid in money, with the addition during certain seasons of his meals and drink.

These day laborers are often the dependant members, wives, sisters, children, etc., of the "deputatisten." As a matter of custom they have the first claim on any extra work needed on the estate to which the head of the family has contracted his labor. Such is the present demand for laborers, however, in many parts of agricultural Bohemia that, in settling families as "deputatisten" in the dwellings belonging to an estate, preference is given to men with a large number of dependants of working age.

¹ Cf. DR. HERMANN VON SCHULIERN, "Die Lohnarbeit in der Oesterreichischen Landwirthschaft und ihre Verhältnisse," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung*, vol. v. p. 10. Wien, 1896.

These various classes of labor shade into each other in all possible ways.

4. *The roaming laborers* (Wanderarbeiter) have come to be as important in many parts of Bohemia as they are in Prussia and Saxony. In Bohemia they come largely from adjoining Slavic countries and are usually called by the generic term "Slavoks." They are of both sexes and are engaged to work under contract during special seasons, such as the time of beet cultivation, grain and potato harvest, etc. They are lodged in rough "barracks" and fed by their employers, receiving in addition to board and lodging a small money wage. At the end of the season they return to their homes.

In different sections of Bohemia one or more of these various classes may predominate according to the size of the properties and the character of the culture. The "deputatisten" are to be found as a rule on the large estates in Eastern and Southern Bohemia where this class of labor is rapidly replacing the farm servant proper. Often as many as one hundred live upon one large estate.¹ The small properties and the medium sized properties of the north and east are more apt to employ farm servants who live under the master's roof. The temporary contract labor is employed chiefly in the lowlands where the sugar beet is the important crop, but owing to the scarcity of labor it is being introduced into other sections during the harvesting season.

Wages: the deputatisten.—The "deputatisten" represent in many ways the best class of farm labor. A man of this class is secure in his position and often his real wages added to those of the other members of his family enable him to live quite as comfortably as the small peasant proprietor. In this class are found all grades of labor from the manager (Wirtschafter) to the plowboy.

The labor on the large estates is usually fairly well organized. When the estate is divided into a number of farms there is generally a manager for each farm and a director over all.

¹ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, etc., p. 8.

In the lowlands the managers are usually paid in cash, from 300 gulden a year upward, though even there he is often provided with a house and a cow as a part of his wages. In other districts he is paid, like the lower grades of labor, chiefly in produce.

On an estate of 2200 Joch,¹ in the district of Chotěboř, in eastern Bohemia, which was somewhat carefully studied in the summer of 1899, the three managers received respectively 50, 60, and 120 gulden per year. In addition each received 100 liters of beer, 100 liters of wheat, 1000 liters of rye, 200 liters of barley, 100 liters of peas, the use of 1 cow and of 450 quadratklasters of land, 14 cubic meters of wood, a dwelling, hens and other fowls, of a total value of 321 gulden per year, as estimated by the director of the estate.

The field overseers, of whom there are several on each large estate, receive wages varying from about 266 gl. yearly in the hill districts, to about one third more in the lowlands. The larger part of this is paid in produce. In the lowlands a larger money payment takes the place of the wood and use of a field. On the estate above referred to the payment of the overseers is as follows: Cash, 40–50 gl., 24 liters of beer, 100 liters of wheat, 800 liters of rye, 200 liters of barley, 100 liters of peas, 350 quadratklasters of field, 14 cubic meters of wood, 1 cow, hens, a house, usually of two rooms, and overtime paid for at double the rates of ordinary labor.

Below the overseers in rank come chief threshers, who have charge of the grain crops, shepherds, foresters, fodderers (*Futterer*), overseers of butter and cheese making, coachmen, storekeepers, etc., down to the common laborer, the most numerous class of whom are the teamsters and plowboys. Boys from fifteen to twenty years of age are often employed to drive the teams. They are paid from 30 to 50 kr. per day.

The regular plowmen and teamsters (*Pferde- und Ochsenknechte*), however, are usually men with families, employed for the entire year. They live in rooms furnished by the estate. Their money wages are small, the larger portion of their services,

¹ 1 Joch = 1.4219 acres.

as in the case of the other "deputatisten" being paid for in farm products. The following is an illustration of actual quantities paid, with the estimate of its money value at the current prices at time and place. [District Chotěboř, eastern Bohemia, June 1899.] Payment was made quarterly.

	Cash	Beer	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Peas	Field	Wood
Teamster (Pferdeknecht).....	48 gl.	15 liters	90 liters	480 liters	220 liters	100 liters	250 quadratkla- sters	6 cubic meters hauled free
Plowboy (Ochsenknecht)	40 gl.	[5 liters each at the harvest festi- val, "kirchweih", and "wallfahrts" feasts.]	70 kg. @ 9-10 kr. pro. kg.= 7 gl.	335 kg. @ 7-8 kr. pro. kg.= 26.8 gl.	150 kg. @ 8-8½ kr. pro. kg.= 12 gl.	80 kg. @ 10-11½ kr. pro. kg.= 8.80	Value of crop estimated at 18 gl.	@ about 3 gl. per c. m.= 18 gl.

The total value of the services was thus estimated at 138 and 130 gl. per annum, respectively.

On the same estate, if the teamsters are employed in drawing products beyond the limits of the estate, they are paid an extra allowance, varying according to distance, from 12 to 50 kr. per day. The latter sum is paid only on the large estates several hours drive distant from the railway, where the teamster must remain away over night.

In the lowlands the annual cash wages for teamsters rises from 48 gl. to 60 gl., and as high as 80 gl. in the neighborhood of large cities. The peasant farmers pay for similar labor 40 to 60 gl. and board, according to location.

If the wages on the estate specially studied may be taken as a fair average for the district, as was the opinion of the proprietor and his director, a comparison with the average wages paid in the same district in 1893 shows that the money wages paid today are higher for all the grades of labor. For the upper grades the cash value of the produce paid today is greater than in the early years of the decade, owing to the increase in the quantity, while in the lower grades there has not been a correspondingly large increase.

The wages paid in 1893, as reported by the Central Statistical Commission, are as follows:¹

¹ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, p. 40.

DISTRICT OF CHOTĚBOŘ, EASTERN BOHEMIA.

Grade of labor	Money wage	Estimated value of produce	Total
First manager.....	60 gl.	280 gl.	340 gl.
Second manager.....	50	260	310
First overseer.....	50	180	230
Second overseer.....	40	160	200
Teamster.....	37	100	137
Plowboy.....	34	100	134
Cattle girl.....	22	90	112

Each employee has a separate dwelling where possible.

The inequality in the rate of wages for the same sort of service in the different districts of Bohemia is illustrated by the following table¹ giving the wages of a teamster in different sections in 1893:

Place	Money wage	Portion of wages paid in produce or its estimated value
I. Königstadt	64 fl.	Wheat, 125 kg.; rye, 360 kg.; barley, 256 kg.; wood, 4 c. m. Use of $\frac{1}{2}$ metzen of land.
Kolin.....	60-70	Produce to value of 150 fl.
Pardubitz	180	1 liter milk per day, 1 hl. potatoes per month, wood, dwelling, light.
IV. Bilin	84	Bread, flour, potatoes, and milk to the value of 84 fl.
Bischofteinitz ..	144	$\frac{1}{4}$ of the milk of one cow, 200 \square° land, medicine, free dwelling where possible.
Klattau	60	Produce to the value of 180 fl.
Nepomuck	144	Potato field and produce worth 32 fl.
VII. Planitz.....	40	Produce to the value of 140 fl.
(on large estate)		
VIII. Frauenberg.....	156-168	Free dwelling, wood, medicine, 6 hl. potatoes.
Weseli	88-108	Free dwelling, 5 c. m. wood, potato field of 200 \square°
Chotěboř	37	Produce to the value of 100 fl. Free residence where possible.
XII. Wildstein	100	Free dwelling, 8 hl. rye, 5 hl. barley, 12 hl. potatoes, 1 hl. pease, 1 l. milk daily, 20 q. coal, 2 c. m. wood. Payment monthly.
(on large estate)		

As a rule, the "deputatisten" seem to be best paid in those districts where there are fewest of them, that is, in the north and west, and more poorly paid in the south and east, where this is the prevailing type of farm labor. Even here they are more

¹ Compiled from different parts of Table III in *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, etc.

favorably situated as to wages than are those laborers who are paid by the day.

The certainty of regular and constant work throughout the year has been mentioned as tending to place the "deputatisten" at the head of the various classes of farm labor. This should be combined with a further circumstance. From the point of view of the laborer himself, the great advantage of position held by the "deputatist" over the ordinary farm servant or day laborer lies in the greater possibility of his becoming an independent proprietor.

The love of land seems as inborn in the Bohemian as in the French peasant. As has been noted, so far as comparative comfort is concerned there often seems little to choose between the life of a peasant proprietor and that of a permanent farm laborer. But added to the love of the land itself comes the additional incentive of the higher and more honorable position which the peasant proprietor holds in the community, coupled as it is with the political rights which in Bohemia go with the ownership of land. Then, too, a proprietor may bequeath his land to his son, who with this as a start may rise to much better things. Where family affection and pride is strong this is no mean inducement to thrift, and this thrift is made possible by the conditions of life of the "deputatisten." Each has his own dwelling in which he, with his family, carry on their individual housekeeping. This gives an opportunity to save, since they may live as sparingly as they please. As a part of their wages they are apt to have the privilege of cutting grass by the roadside or of pasturing there (under the surveillance of a very young or a very aged member of the family), a cow or at least a goat. Or they may even be allowed the use of a bit of pasture. The products from this animal furnish a great addition either to their table or to their money income.

As a result of their frugal life something is usually laid aside each year. In a few years they have saved enough to buy a tiny cottage with a small garden. A few years later a field is added. At the end of fifteen or twenty years service they own

a property of from four to five Metzen. They then leave service and set up farming on their own account. This will be on so small a scale that the head of the family can join the class of "day laborers bound by contract" for a certain number of days per year. If the family contains additional members who can go out to days work in the busy season, the men say as mowers, and the women and children as field laborers, they will earn more than enough to rent for themselves one to four Metzen of field in addition to what they own. They are then able to keep at least two cows and several goats and to live in considerable comfort according to the standard of Bohemian laborers.

According to the census of 1893¹ out of every 1000 day laborers engaged in agriculture in Bohemia seventy-three are entire owners and eighty are part owners of their dwellings. Twenty-one out of every 1000 are entire and twenty-seven are joint owners of a piece of land.

It should be noted in connection with the "deputatisten" that all through the agricultural sections where the large estates prevail are to be found artisans of various kinds who belong to this class. Unlike their fellows in town and city they still retain something of their feudal relations to the lords of the soil. They are engaged by the year and like other "deputatisten" receive as wages, in addition to a small money payment, the use of a dwelling, a piece of land and a stipulated amount of wood and farm produce.

Among the members of this class are blacksmiths, wagon-smiths, carpenters, brick and drain-tile makers. When there is no press of work on the estate the two former classes may add to their income by doing odd jobs of repairing for the peasant farmers of the neighborhood. These artisans take rank with the overseers in rate of wages and comfort of living. Brewers, distillers and cheesemakers are also sometimes included in this class.

The day laborer.—Women form a very important part of both the two classes of agricultural day labor, *i. e.*, the class bound

¹ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, p. 5.

by contract to render all their service to one employer, and the class which works casually by the day.

The following statement in regard to one woman, working on a large estate, was taken from the books of her employer. It shows the kind of work for which women are employed, the wages they can earn at such labor, and the length of the working day at different seasons of the year.

This was one of the most favorably situated women in the district in which she lives. She was the wife of one of the contract-bound laborers and had employment almost constantly. Her earnings are above the average of those in her class.

AVERAGE EARNINGS OF A WOMAN EMPLOYED IN A "MEIERHOF" ON A LARGE ESTATE IN THE DISTRICT OF CHOTĚBOŘ, EASTERN BOHEMIA. FOR THE YEAR 1898.

January.—An average of 25 working days; hours from 8:00–12:00 A. M., 1:00–3:30 P. M., $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 hours. Wages 20 kr. per day. Work for the most part with the steam threshing machine, cleaning grain. Was away from work 2 days.

Earnings, 23 days - - - - - 4.60 gl.

February.—23 working days. Hours as in January. Wages 16 kr. per day. Worked at cleaning grain, hand threshing, preparing manure for spreading, etc. Was away from work 3 days on account of carnival holidays.

Earnings, 20 days- - - - - 3.20 gl.

March.—24 working days, 16 kr. per day was paid up to the 15th. But the woman was employed 5 of these days in making straw bands, for which she was paid by the piece, at the rate of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 kr. per shock (60 units), according to quality. By a short day's labor the woman earned 30 kr. per day.

Therefore, 10 days @ 16 kr. - - - - - 1.60 gl.

5 days @ 30 kr. - - - - - 1.50

From the 15th of March 20 kr. per day was paid. The woman, however, was unable, on account of home duties, to work more than 8 days. Two of these days were employed in preparing manure and was paid for by quantity done.

She earned 35 kr. per day, or - - - - - .70

The remaining 6 days were spent in helping to get fields ready for crops, by removing weeds, loading

manure, unloading potatoes, sorting them, cutting them ready for seed, etc. Hours (nominally from 6:00 A. M.) really from 7:00-12:00 A. M.; 1:30-5:30 P. M.; 9 to 10 hours.

Wages—6 days @ 20 kr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.20	
Total for March	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	5.00 gl.
<i>April.</i> —23 working days. Hours 6:30–12:00 A. M.; 1:30–6:00 P. M.; 10 hours.								
Earnings, 21 days @ 25 kr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.25	gl.
2 days “piece work”	-	-	-	-	-	-	.70	
Total for April	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	4.95 gl.
<i>May.</i> —24 working days. Hours 6:30–12:00 A. M.; 1:30–7:00 P. M.; 11 hours. Wages at 25 kr.								
Earnings, 24 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	gl.
Overtime, 12 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	.60	
Total for May	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	6.60 gl.
<i>June.</i> —23 working days @ 25 kr.								
Earnings	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.75	gl.
Overtime, 12 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	.60	
Total for June	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	6.35 gl.
Work in April, May, and June chiefly planting and hoeing, Hours in May and June as in April.								
<i>July.</i> —26 working days. 10 days common labor, spreading hay and hoeing beets and potatoes:								
At 25 kr. per day	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	gl.
5 days, “piece work” in cutting rape and in hoeing beets:								
At 50 kr. per day	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	
6 days with overtime	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.80	
5 days, “piece work” in cutting	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.00	
Total for July	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	9.80 gl.
<i>August.</i> —26 working days.								
Harvest	{	6 days without overtime	-	-	-	-	1.50	gl.
		10 days with overtime	-	-	-	-	3.00	
		10 days, “piece work”	-	-	-	-	6.00	
							—	10.50 gl.
<i>September.</i> —24 working days, cultivation of potatoes.								
10 days without overtime	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	gl.
10 days with overtime	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.00	
4 days, “piece work”	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.20	
							—	8.70 gl.
<i>October.</i> —24 working days.								
4 days without overtime	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00	gl.
20 days, “piece work”	-	-	-	-	-	-	18.00	
							—	19.00 gl.

November.—24 working days.

8 days, "piece work"	-	-	-	-	-	4.80 gl.
16 days without overtime	-	-	-	-	-	4.00
						<hr/> 8.80 gl.

December.—23 working days.

At threshing -	-	-	-	-	-	7.50
						<hr/>
Total for year	-	-	-	-	-	95.00 gl.

It will be seen that this woman worked 283 days in the year. The hours of work varied from 8 in winter to 12, 13, and 14 in summer, when "overtime" means work until dark. When paid by the day she earned from 16 to 25 kr., with 5 kr. extra in the days when she worked overtime. That is, she earned from six cents to ten cents per day, with two cents extra for an overtime of sometimes three hours. But on 61 days in the year she worked "by the job" (Accordlohn), and in October for 20 days she earned as much as 90 kr., or 36 cents per day. This brought her total earnings for the year up to 95 gl., or about \$38.00. The character of the work, it will be seen, was extremely varied. She cleaned grain, in connection with the steam threshing machine, did hand threshing, turned and loaded and spread manure, plaited straw bands, loaded and unloaded potatoes, sorted and cut them for planting, helped plant, did hoeing and hand weeding, turned and raked hay, cultivated beets and cut grain.

On 82 days in the year she did not work for wages. Of these 52 were Sundays. The remaining 30 were holidays, or devoted to household duties, for this woman, being a wife and mother, was also a housekeeper.

In addition to her money wages every permanent woman employee on this estate has the use of a piece of pasture or grass at a nominal price. If her husband also receives the use of a piece of land as part wages, they can combine forces and keep a cow. If only one has the use of grass they must content themselves with a goat.

Often during the grain harvest a half liter of beer per day is served to each worker, and a half liter of brandy is served to each daily, through the potato harvest. During hay or grain

harvest, when it is necessary to work in the afternoons of Sunday (morning being left free for church service), and on holidays, under the same circumstances, the laborers are paid a whole day's wages for one half day's work. This applies to men and women alike.

In the lowlands, where the sugar beet culture is carried on extensively, and in the neighborhood of cities, wages are considerably higher than in other districts. In case a working woman is not engaged for the entire year, she can in winter earn at least one third more by day's work, and in summer as much again per day as the wages quoted above. During the season of the beet cultivation an industrious working women can earn from 1 gl. to 1.50 gl. per day.

In the beet-growing districts it is less customary than elsewhere to serve the workers with beer and brandy.

With the small peasant proprietors, when extra work-people are engaged only for special work at the busy season, the women receive about the same money wage as is paid on the large estates of the neighborhood, but receive their food in addition to this. Owing to the enticements of city life, and to foreign emigration, it is becoming more difficult each year, both for the large estate owners and the peasants, to secure unmarried girls to tend the cattle (*Viehmagd*). The large estate owners employ chiefly the wives of their farm hands. The peasants, who have no accommodations for families on their small farms, are obliged to pay constantly increasing wages. The customary wages have been 24 gl., yearly, with board and lodging, a new dress, and perhaps a pair of shoes at Christmas. Now it is not uncommon for a peasant to pay 32 gl. A specially skillful girl can sometimes command as much as 4 to 5 gl. per month.

Day wages of men.—A man's wages at day labor are as a rule about one third higher than a woman's at the same time and place. In the different districts of Bohemia there is quite as wide a difference in the price paid for day labor as in the wages of "deputatisten." Thus, from the tables given in the report of 1895, we find that during the season of cultivation,

wages, with board, varies from a minimum of 20–50 kr. per day to a maximum of from 35–120 kr. In harvest time the range is from a minimum of 30–60 kr., to a maximum of from 45–200 kr.; during the remainder of the year the variation is from a minimum of 20–35 kr. to a maximum of from 30–100 kr.¹

Wages without board run from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. higher. Thus the rates are: for the season of cultivation, minimum, 30–70 kr.; maximum, 70–150 kr.; in harvest, minimum, 35–80 kr.; maximum, 120–250 kr.; for the remainder of the year, minimum, 30–60 kr., and maximum, 70–150 kr.²

When we come to consider the cost of living, in detail, we shall find that those who are paid entirely in cash are the most unfavorably situated, so far as real wages are concerned.

Harvesting is largely paid for in proportion to surface cut. Thus, for mowing grass and clover the common rate is from 50–80 kr. per Metzen.³ For mowing grain the rate is from one fourth to one third more, according to necessity, the scarcity of labor being greater in some seasons than in others. The taller the grain, as a rule, the higher the rate. Upon the estate in eastern Bohemia to which reference has already been made, the average rate of payment for the grain harvest is 50 kr. per Metzen, to which is added one liter of beer and one half kilo of bread.

Changes in wages in the last half-century.—To arrive at anything like an accurate conclusion as to the gain made in real wages by the agricultural laborer of Bohemia in the last half-century, is a matter of extreme difficulty. Trustworthy data as to wages paid, as well as to market prices of farm produce, and of commodities used by the laborers, are difficult to obtain in sufficient number. Owing to the lack of uniformity in rates of wages it would be necessary to study each district, or, at least, typical districts, by themselves; owing to the variety of classes of laborers each class represented should be studied separately and

¹ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, pp. 14–15.

² *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, pp. 14, 15.

³ One Metzen, land surface, = $\frac{1}{3}$ Joch.

in detail. Sufficient material for such a study has not yet been collected by the writer. Only a few somewhat general considerations can therefore be indicated.

The interest of the Bohemian peasantry in the course of agricultural wages and in the price of farm products is complex. So far as he is an independent producer for the market, market prices of wheat, rye, etc. determine his prosperity. So far as he is a landless farm laborer, paid entirely in money, the price of the chief food products is the important factor to his real wages. Probably one half the agricultural population comes between these two extremes. In 1890 out of every 1000 men engaged in agriculture, 390 are classed as independent;¹ 454 as farm laborers of whom 103 live in the families of their masters and 351 are "deputatisten," and 151 are classed as day laborers. Of every 1000 women only 43 are independent, 141 are day laborers, and of the balance 121 live in the families of their masters while 695 are "deputatisten."

Thus a large proportion either own a little land from which most of their food comes, while their money wages goes for taxes, clothing, etc., or they are "deputatisten," paid a customary amount of produce which does not vary in quantity. In either of these cases they are not directly affected by the market price of farm products. The day laborer paid entirely in money is most directly affected by the current rate of wages and these money wages seem to have changed more in recent years than wages paid in produce.

The report of the Chamber of Commerce of Prague for 1851 gives some data as to agricultural conditions for the two districts within its jurisdiction; *i. e.*, the district of which the city of Prague is the center, and the Pardubitz district, lying to the east and including a portion of the country lying in the Moravian boundaries. So far as they go the figures given for the latter district are fairly comparable with those given for the estate in Chotěboř. These data are shown in Table III. It is pretty generally conceded that the Chamber of Commerce reports as

¹ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, etc., p. 3.

to wages do not underestimate them. They can safely be taken to represent the highest rates current. And owing to the competition of the city for labor the wages in the district immediately around Prague are probably as high as any in the kingdom.

According to these estimates the wages of the agricultural male laborer paid by the day in cash, in the district around Prague vary in 1850 from 21 to 33 kr.¹

TABLE III.
WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN 1850.²

Kind of labor	District about Prag	Pardubitz district
A strong farm hand, if we reckon his board in money according to current food prices, and add his money wage of from 26.25 fl. (ö. W.) to 31.50 fl. for the year, receives	ö. W. 105 fl.	ö. W. 94.50 fl.
A less efficient laborer, with a money wage of from 21 fl. to 25.20 fl. with board, receives.....	98.70	84
Boy under 14 years, with board, and money wages of from 6.30 fl. to 8.40 fl., receives.....	73.50	63
A capable woman, with board, and money wages of from 16.80 fl. to 18.90 fl., receives	84	73.50
A less capable woman, with board, and money wages of from 12.60 fl. to 15.75 fl., receives	80.85	69.30
A girl under 14 years, with board, and money wages of from 5.25 fl. to 6.30 fl.	72.40	63
An industrious man at agricultural labor by the day receives for a 12-hour day, from April until October, per day.....	31 kr. 21	26 kr. 17.5
A less efficient day laborer receives per day.....		
Children of both sexes, under 14 years, for easy work in field and meadow, receive.....	14	10.5
An industrious woman receives at field work per day.	24	21
A less efficient woman receives per day.....	17.5	14
Laborers paid by the day but engaged to work 300 days in the year receive		
Men, per day.....	33	29
Women, per day.....	27	24
Children under 14 years, per day.....	24	21

In 1893 for the same district they are put at from 60 to 90 kr.³ or almost three times as much. In Pardubitz, in 1850,

¹ In all cases money values are reduced to the present Austrian standard. ö. W. = oesterreichische Währung.

² *Statistischer Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Prag*, Prag, 1851, pp. 28 and 29.

³ *Die landwirthschaftlichen Löhne*, p. 7.

wages for the same sort of labor vary from 17.5 kr. to 29 kr. In 1899 at Chotěboř a man working by the day would receive possibly from 25 to 50 kr., the increase in money wages thus appearing to be less in the districts more remote from the city.

An industrious woman at day labor does not appear to have gained as much as her brother man. In 1850 she is already earning from 21 to 24 kr. in the Pardubitz district, and the woman in the neighborhood of Chotěboř, described in a preceding section, is today paid only from 16 kr. to 25 kr. when hired by the day.

It will be noted that the "strong farm hand" who receives his board in addition to a money wage, gets from 26.25 fl. to 31.50 fl. in 1850. If we compare this with the money wages paid to plowboys and teamsters in Chotěboř, we will find far less difference than between the money wages paid at Chotěboř and other sections of the country, at the present time. But in 1850 the board of the laborer is reckoned at about 74 fl. per year while in 1899 he receives in addition to his money wage produce valued at 100 fl.

The three staple articles of food for the agricultural laborer as well as for the common laborer of the towns and villages throughout Bohemia are wheat, rye, and potatoes. The two latter commodities are, however, more freely used than is wheat.

Dr. Raucheberg, in his book *Die Bevölkerung Oesterreichs*, has constructed a table showing the variations in the price of a hectoliter consisting of equal parts of wheat, rye, and potatoes, as a basis for a computation of changes in the real wages of common labor throughout Austria.

For the sake of comparison the writer has constructed a similar table of prices for Bohemia.¹ That portion of it relating to the years 1850-1881² is as follows:

¹ The figures used as a basis are those for average prices of wheat, rye, and potatoes in Bohemia, given in the market reports of *Tafeln zum Statistik der Oesterreichischen Monarchie 1828-1865*, and in the *Statistisches Handbuch der Oesterreichischen Monarchie 1863-1881*.

² After 1881 the form of the market report changes so that the data are no longer comparable.

Years	Price of hectoliter of equal parts of wheat, rye, and potatoes	Years	Price of hectoliter of equal parts of wheat, rye, and potatoes	Years	Price of hectoliter of equal parts of wheat, rye, and potatoes
1850.....	3.54 gl.	1860	6.17 gl.	1870	6.05 gl.
1851.....	4.97	1861	6.54	1871	6.44
1852.....	5.96	1862	5.55	1872	6.56
1853.....	6.05	1863	4.73	1873	7.59
1854.....	8.16	1864	4.30	1874	7.38
1855.....	8.35	1865	4.56	1875	5.83
1856.....	6.09	1866	5.67	1876	6.29
1857.....	4.55	1867	7.33	1877	6.51
1858.....	4.61	1868	6.86	1878	5.51 (decade 6.38 average)
1859.....	4.98	1869 ...	5.76	1879	5.68
Decade ..	5.72 (average)	Decade..	5.74 (average)	1880	6.43
				1881	6.34

It will be noted that although the price varies from year to year within considerable limits, yet for the first two decades there is a difference of only 2 kr. in the averages for those periods. In the seventies the price never goes as low as in the preceding years, and the average is 64 kr. higher. Since the year 1850 the prices of farm products in Bohemia have followed very closely the prices of Austria, from 1870 on being somewhat lower. According to Dr. Raucheberg the eighties was a decade of steadily falling prices in the empire. As this was true of most other countries as well, it is undoubtedly true of Bohemia. For the decade 1890-1900 no comparable data are at hand.

According to the same sources of information, the level of wages of common labor has been constantly rising in Bohemia as well as in the empire, since 1850. The average day's wages paid in money, without board, from 1850 to 1876 inclusive, in Bohemia were:

Years	Wages per day	Years	Wages per day	Years	Wages per day
1850	32 kr.	1860	49 kr.	1870	62 kr.
1851	38.75	1861	52	1871	95
1852	42	1862	49	1872	93
1853	45.5	1863	52	1873	99
1854	45.5	1864	52	1874	96
1855	45.5	1865	50	1875	97
1856	45.5	1866	66	1876	115
1857	46	1867	68		
1858	46	1868	58		
1859	47	1869	56		

Since 1876 there has been no general rise of wages proportionate at all to the rise of the preceding twenty-five years. If, now, we express the real wages¹ of common labor by the number of days required to earn a hectoliter composed of equal parts of the three food stuffs, we have as follows:

Years	Real wages	Years	Real wages	Years	Real wages	Years	Real wages
1850	11	1857.....	9.8	1864.....	8.2	1871	6.7
1851	12.8	1858.....	10	1865.....	9.1	1872	7
1852	14.1	1859.....	10.5	1866.....	8.5	1873	7.6
1853	13.2	1860.....	12.5	1867.....	10.8	1874	7.5
1854	17.9	1861.....	12.5	1868.....	11.7	1875	6
1855	18.3	1862.....	11.9	1869.....	10.2	1876	5.4
1856	13.3	1863.....	9	1870.....	9.7		

The combined effect of the rise of money wages and the general fall of food prices is a decided rise in real wages. For the decade 1850-1859 the average is expressed by the number 13.09, for the decade 1860-1869 it is 10.44, and for the seven years 1870-1876 it is 7.12.

With a continued fall in the price of staple foods and a steady if not a rising rate of money wages, real wages expressed in this way for the years following would show a considerable rise.

The estimates given above are made, not for agricultural labor alone, but for common day labor throughout Bohemia. But as the official returns, which are the basis of the estimates, are made from *all* districts, including large agricultural areas, a large percentage of the laborers whose wages are included would probably be those working upon the land. So far as the personal impression of the writer goes, based upon such material as has been accessible, it seems safe to say that the rates of common labor are not far from those of farm labor in their respective districts, and that the figures might be taken as fairly representative of the changes in the condition of the best paid class of farm labor.

The important point here is not the absolute gain in real wages for the agricultural laborer, but the fact that owing to the

¹ It will be noted that the value of the real wages are inversely proportional to those of the figures representing them. The method is that of Dr. Raucheberg.

various causes indicated there has been a gain. For the "deputatisten" at least this gain has taken place not only in that part of real wages which is made up of food, but also in relatively better housing.

The chief improvement in housing comes not so much from any change in the type of house, the material of which it is built, or even in its furnishing. It is due to the fact that there is a growing inclination on the part of the large estate owners to give each family a dwelling to itself. This dwelling often consists of a single room. These rooms are apt to be located in the buildings which form the four sides of the stable yard. Each of the separate farms, into which the large estates are divided, has such a group of buildings, called the "Meierhof." They include the stables, barns, wagon sheds, calf pens, sheep sheds, etc. Built of the same material and in the same style, the dwelling houses are scarcely distinguishable, exteriorly, from the other buildings. They are commonly built of stone, one or two stories in height. The windows are small. The doors open directly into the central stable yard. There are likely to be connecting doors between the various rooms, and also between the living rooms and the stables. Occasionally there is a narrow hallway on the second floor, from which the different rooms open. The interior walls are sometimes plastered and sometimes simply whitewashed. The floor may be boards, bricks, or hard-packed earth.

As a rule today the large estate owners are attempting to encourage better living by assigning only one family to each room. But even now there are many exceptions. When the rooms are large and not easily divisible, two or even three families may be found in one room. The testimony of the older proprietors is, however, to the effect that they have seen great improvements in this respect in their own lifetimes. Twenty-five years ago one family to a room was the exception rather than the rule.

No doubt the great emigration from the rural districts and the increasing difficulty in keeping competent laborers upon the

farms has had its effect in this direction, as well as the growing recognition of the landlords of the importance of improved housing as a factor of increased efficiency of labor.

In spite of the increase in his money wages, a larger real wage—better housing conditions, better educational advantages, and fewer restrictions of all sorts—the economic advantages upon the farms, whether large or small, are not sufficient to check the movement toward the cities and toward foreign lands. The Bohemian farmer is facing a difficult problem, and one which the political situation of the Austrian empire, as well as of the kingdom, renders still more complex.

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